12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Celebes OG1
Batak OD5
Bali OF7

hard to determine, but when it really is a case of abduction, the abductor may be killed, if he is overtaken before he reaches the place of asylum with his prize. If he succeeds in his venture, the ceremonies of offering the bride-price take place, especially if the couple have had intercourse. The successive steps in the procedure follow the same pattern as in marriage by elopement. In this case, the value of the payments is usually high.

In South Celebes elopement is apparently simply called abduction, because it always calls out violent opposition from the girl's family. They have the right to kill the man.

2. MARITAL FORMS

The relation between the form of marriage and the prevailing kinship system has been discussed at a number of previous points, but now needs to be examined in detail. First, it should be noted that throughout the Archipelago, an exchange of presents is apparently a universal feature of marriage. Marriage without an adat payment is either a special form, like adoptive marriage, or else a rare exception—an unusual deviation or the result of Christian influence.

Among the various forms of marriage, the most important basis of distinction is between marriages consistent with either patriarchy or matriarchy. In the patriarchal type, the woman is released from her group of kinsmen and passes over to her husband's kin group as a person allied by marriage, and the children belong to the father's clan. This is the sole type of marriage among the Toba-Bataks, for example. In the matriarchal type, on the other hand, the woman remains in her group of relatives and the husband in his and the children belong to the mother's clan. This is the sole type among the Minangkabauans. The patriarchal type of marriage is always linked with marriage payments, which serve to make the transfer of the woman possible and to remove her and her children from her clan. In Bali, the payments remove her from the power of her domestic gods. Thus there is a double character to this form of marriage. From one viewpoint, the woman and the presents are a central part of the exchange system between clans, which keeps everything going. From the other viewpoint, the exchange is the magical means of releasing the woman and effecting her transfer and that of her children, without disturbing the social equilibrium and the balance of the cosmos.